

English and French. Classification of many of these practices proved difficult from a purely structural perspective as it was often not possible to identify a matrix language, assign a definite source to all the items and structural principles and to unambiguously identify the linguistic status of elements (e.g. borrowed, switched etc).

When reexamining these data from a social and/or discursive perspective (e.g. Myers-Scotton 1993b; Auer 1995, 1999), it emerges that these practices are best analyzed as consisting of a 'neutral' frame made up of material shared by the Creoles of Suriname into which speakers variably insert 'marked' features from different linguistic sources. Selection of 'distinctive' vs. 'neutral' linguistic items appears to be governed by speakers' interactional and self-presentational concerns, possibility for lexical variation or distinction and/or the makeup of speakers' linguistic repertoires. As a result functionally distinct multilingual practices may take on similar surface forms. The paper argues that classification of these multilingual practices and thus comprehensive understanding of the contact setting must begin with and rely on approaches to code-switching that pay attention to a discourse- and socially-based functions.

Styling bilinguals: How structurally distinctive code-switching styles index social groups in Hong Kong

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"It doesn't matter how you deal with them, it doesn't matter who you are, 其實<keisat> the way that you present yourself by 你個<leigo> language 已經比左一種<jigging beizo jatzung> arrogant 嘅感覺比佢地喇<ge gamgok bei keoidei la>" <<*In fact, the way that you present yourself by **your** language **already gives people a sense that you are arrogant***>>, commented Kelly, 23, Hong Kong-born ethnic Chinese, recently returning after years of sojourn in the USA. Resembling other Hong Kong bilinguals, Kelly switches between Cantonese and English, but her code-switching "style" (Irvine 2001) distinguishes her from locals who label her a "banana" ("yellow outside, white inside"). Her code-switching pattern includes insertion and alternation (Muysken 2000) from both language directions, and the use of discourse markers at switch points, while the local code-switching style is only English insertion into a base language of Cantonese.

In Hong Kong, variation in code-switching patterns index different social identities. The mainstream and local style of code-switching involves a strategic use of Cantonese and English elements syntactically, phonologically and lexically. A bilingual's Cantonese accent signifies one's place of origin more so than one's English accent; certain English lexicon evoke social contestation while others are widely accepted when used in mixed-code. Social actors who do not conform to local linguistic convention of code-switching are discriminated against, as in the case of Kelly.

Li (1995) notes the limited sociolinguistic work on bilingualism analyzing code choice among intra-community subgroups. Research investigates how languages index social identities (Hill & Hill 1986, Myer-Scotton 1993, Rampton 1995) but rarely code-switching as a style with indexical meanings. This research investigates the micro structurally distinctive styles of code-switching used strategically by these returnee bilinguals, and attempt to bring both structural and sociolinguistic analysis together in the study of code-switching. Data includes 110 hours of natural speech among two self-forming communities of returnees and locals, interviews, and ethnographic observation across six years.

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Multilingual speakers in a West-African rural contact zone

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In many African settings multilingualism of speakers and low standardisation of languages seem to be the default case and thus may serve as example of a typical non-western sociolinguistic context. In such a situation linguistic norms are constantly in flux and consequently a standard of comparison for 'normal' speech is often hard to define. Furthermore, as individual multilingual speakers constantly oscillate between their different linguistic repertoires according to the needs of the social context, individual expressive preferences and effective goal oriented communication, it gets all the more difficult to determine the linguistic outcome of such a situation.

In order to assess the impact of the various factors on language use and language change in such a situation, a conjoint research team (Goethe-University at Frankfurt and Humboldt-University at Berlin) conceived a socio-linguistic micro study in a rural West Africa contact zone where *Jula*, *Marka*, *Dogon*, *Pana*, *Northern Samo* and *French* are spoken next to each other and many speakers are fluent in more than one of this languages. The project originally set out to correlate a given individual's integration into local community networks with his language use and his apparent linguistic variation. To ensure the comparative aspect of the research, two villages with different linguistic histories were chosen.

In the talk, I will first give an overview of the research area and comment on our adaption of the social network approach to this setting. Secondly, I'll present some general findings referring to the correlation of an individual's level of social integration and related linguistic variation in one specific speech community. Finally, I will look more closely at recorded discourse data of individual speakers from this community analyzing their various Code-Switching behaviors in connection with their individual biographies.